

PRESS POWER

FOR

CO-OPERATION



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Press Power for Co-operation

By

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(Chairman, The Co-operative Press Ltd.)



B **EING A PAMPHLET ISSUED BY THE CO-OPERATIVE
PRESS LTD. TO THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT
AS A WHOLE POINTING OUT**

- (1) *The need for a powerful Co-operative Press.*
- (2) *How essential it is for societies to join in the Co-operative Advertising Scheme.*
- (3) *The part every individual co-operator can play in seeing that his or her Society increases the sales of "Reynolds's" locally by inducing at least an additional 5 per cent. of co-operative households to order the paper—thus helping towards the great object of 250,000 new readers during 1936 for "Reynolds's."*

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Chapter One

PUBLICITY AS AN INSTRUMENT OF POWER

THE Co-operative Movement does not yet fully realise the extent to which its own future has been affected by the changed conditions of the twentieth century.

The disintegration of the competitive system of capitalism—part of the aftermath of the World War, 1914-1918—has been followed by a period of ruthlessness in method and policy for the maintenance of the capitalistic economic structure.

Big Business has adopted two main lines of policy to enable it to direct post-war reconstruction without imperilling its future existence.

It has seized and maintained, by pressure where necessary, its grip on the machinery of Governments.
It has also established complete mastery over all the main agencies of publicity, namely, the Press, radio, and the films.

The inability of democratic movements everywhere to achieve any large measure of success over modern methods of propaganda and publicity has been responsible for their failure to stem the wave of dictatorship which has spread throughout the world during the last fifteen years and undone so much of what was accomplished during the nineteenth century for freedom and democracy.

While Britain has escaped the repressive form of dictatorship so prevalent in Europe, working-class organisations will be unwise to assume that their escape springs from their own powers of resistance.

The experience of the General Strike, 1926, the over-



A group of Co-operative Press directors and officials.

whelming defeat of the Labour Party in the 1931 financial crisis, and the inability of the Co-operative Movement to get its point of view considered on taxation, fiscal, and food policy by the "National" Government, afford three outstanding proofs that these three great working-class movements have not the command of sufficient publicity or opinion-making agencies to win the confidence of a majority of the British people.

At such times it is realised—too late—how much a modern democracy is at the mercy of a powerful and well-organised Press when it unites for self-preservation. Often in a few days democratic labours of a decade are undone.

When each crisis has passed many comfort themselves with the hope that it will not happen again. But nothing is more certain than that it will, should similar circumstances arise, so long as twentieth-century democracy is dependent for its views and news on capitalist agencies.

The attitude of the Co-operative Movement to its own Press fully illustrates this weakness so far inherent in democracy.

The Pre-War Co-operative Press

THE Co-operative Press preceded the Co-operative Movement. Journals like Robert Owen's "Economist," 1821, and Dr. King's "Co-operator," 1828, and the Lancashire and Yorkshire "Co-operator," 1831, germinated the theories of co-operative economics eventually translated into commercial practice by the Rochdale Pioneers in 1844.

Later, out of the Manchester and Salford Society's "Co-operator," begun in 1858, evolved "The Co-operative News," pioneer journal of the Co-operative Press of to-day, established in 1871, in which the 1863 "Scottish Co-operator" was merged along with "The Co-operator."

In the period 1871-1929, fifty-eight years, while progress has been made in the publication of other journals—"The Millgate," 1905; "Our Circle," 1907; "The Scottish Co-operator" (revived) in 1894, and "The Woman's Outlook," 1919—these developments are not comparable with the growth in co-operative trade and membership, for all of these journals have a limited circulation confined to active co-operators, and none has achieved anything like the power of the popular modern Press controlled by the opponents of Co-operation.

This short pre-war description of the Co-operative Press does serve to show that, however inadequate it may be, at no period could the Co-operative Movement afford to be without its own Press.

Now we have to consider the profound changes which the war and post-war conditions have forced on us, and how far in the field of modern publicity we are equipped to meet them.

Chapter Two

CRISES CONDITIONS

THE Great War created conditions which compelled the State to play a direct and important part in the determination of commodity production and distribution. It is significant that this tendency has increased in the post-war period.

The bias in this new State economic administration, 1914-1935, has been from its inception anti-co-operative, simply because it has been pro-capitalist. During the war this anti-co-operative bias found expression through the rationing of supplies, and through the military tribunals. It became so restrictive to co-operative trade that the Movement was forced to depart from its age-long tradition of political neutrality, and to form the Co-operative Party in 1917, the first big change in policy to meet post-war conditions.

Since the war this anti-co-operative bias has continued, not so dramatically as during the war, but none the less persistent.

Outstanding examples of this Government interference with co-operative interests are :—

(1) The Treasury's compulsory change in the auditing practice of the Co-operative Movement in the interests of the associations of professional accountants.

(2) The stoppage of dividend payments on Health Insurance prescriptions by the Ministry of Health, in the interest of the private trader pharmacist.

(3) The taxation of co-operative surpluses arising from mutual trade by Mr. Neville Chamberlain, at the request of anti-co-operative and private traders' organisations.



Linotype operator on "Reynolds's."

(4) The growing menace to, and increasing interference with, co-operative sources of supplies and trading practices, developing from the administration of owner-producer marketing boards and legalised monopolies which the "National" Government has fostered.

As a result of twenty-one years of war and post-war experience, 1914-1935, the Co-operative Movement is slowly awakening to the fact that it will never obtain any voice, power, or influence in the Press of Britain unless it provides it for itself.

Why a Co-operative Press?

THIS raises the question: Why have co-operators from Robert Owen's time down to 1935, always had to provide themselves with their own Press? The answer is: Because no paper financed, owned, and controlled by private enterprise would dream of preaching the theory and practice of Co-operation, explaining the advantages of co-operative trading over private enterprise, popularising Co-operation, defending Co-operation, or advancing the claims of Co-operation against those of capitalism.

Because of this obvious fact, Co-operation gets no voice in the Press—except occasional misrepresentation! We are undesirable news, and objectionable views to the general Press of Britain, as it is now owned and controlled. No politician would get publicity if he advocated Co-operation as a solution to modern economic problems, and so politicians leave it alone. Consequently Co-operation has failed to make its appeal to the nation as the real solution to the problems of unemployment, peace, and prosperity.

Chapter Three

THE HOPE OF CO-OPERATION

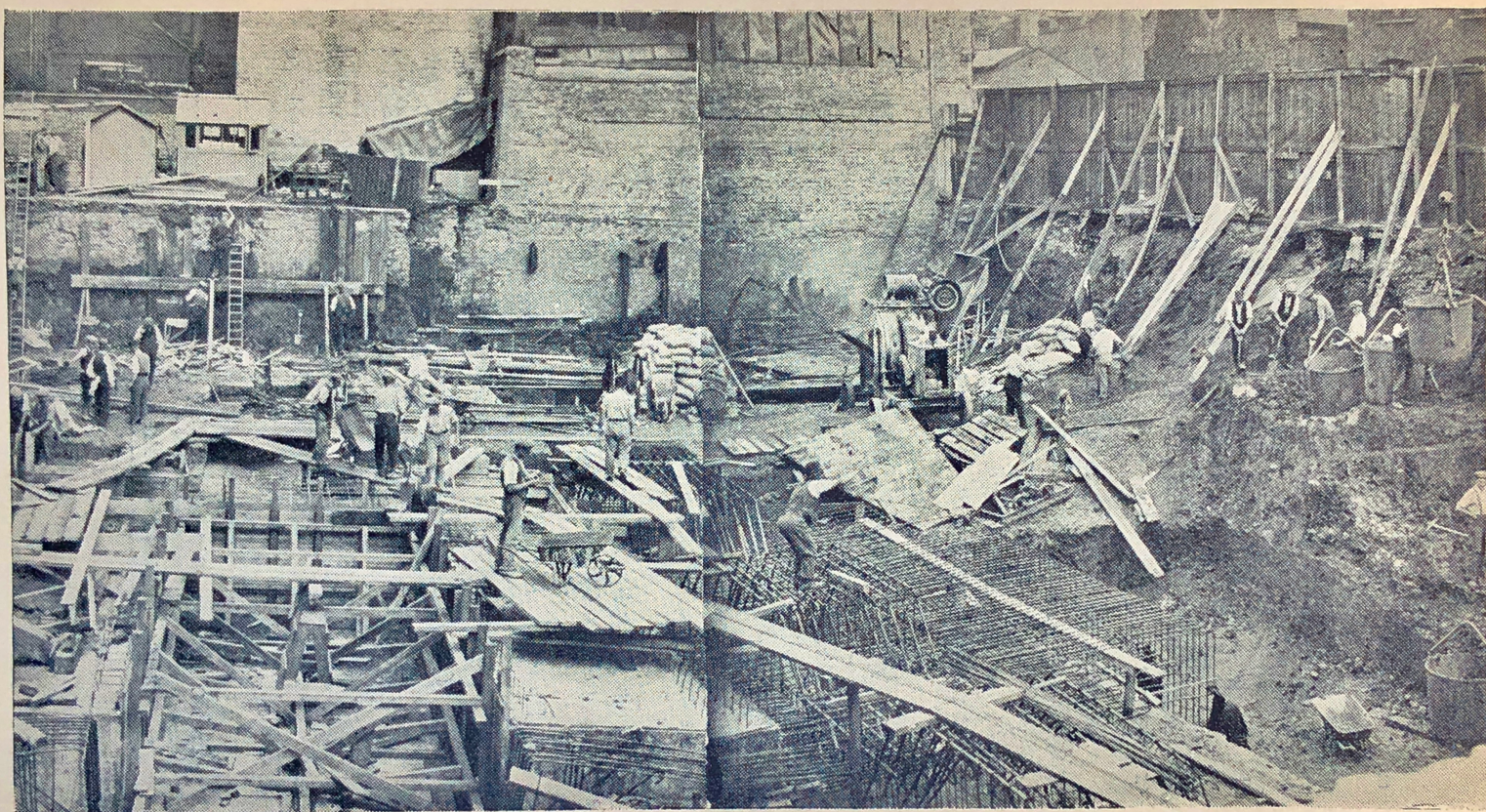
THESE handicaps only serve to throw into relief the remarkable potentialities of co-operative economics, considering the progress the co-operative system has made in an unobtrusive manner against such obstacles.

The Co-operative Movement is, in fact, the greatest force for human betterment in the world to-day. Its economic laws contain the solution that the people everywhere seek, namely, the distribution of a purchasing power equivalent to productive capacity.

If this could be made known to the world through British example, the economic contradictions which now frustrate the enjoyment by mankind of the opportunities of this scientific age would be removed.

The supreme need of the Co-operative Movement at this stage, whether it be for the advancement of Co-operative trade, productive, and distributive on, say, the Ten Year Plan or to spread a knowledge of Co-operation through increased activities and membership of our educational agencies, or to organise the Co-operative vote through the Co-operative Party, is to give all sections of the Co-operative Union of Britain a Press voice which will reach our millions of members who never attend a business meeting, concert meeting, guild branch, or political gathering.

We need urgently a powerful, widely-read, popular but instructive Co-operative Press to capture the imagi-



This photograph (taken in July, 1935) shows work begun in earnest in laying the foundations of the new "Reynolds's."

nation of our 7,000,000 members and, through them,
eventually the whole community, to awaken hope in
the hearts of the masses and to provide them with the
practical knowledge of how to translate it into everyday
enjoyment.

A great effort to establish such a Press is now being undertaken by the directors of the Co-operative Press Limited; and the active assistance of every co-operative society, organisation, and keen individual co-operator is sought to make this effort an unqualified success.

Know the Problem and Play the Game.

THE directors of the Co-operative Press Limited know full well the magnitude of their task and are of the opinion that the more this knowledge of the difficulties to be surmounted is understood by the rank and file of the Movement, the more thorough will be the response to this appeal.

This pamphlet, therefore, has been produced by the directors of the Co-operative Press Limited, to :—

(1) Provide every member of co-operative federal
organisations, Management, Education, and
Co-operative Party Committees, and the mem-
bership of the Men's, Women's, and Mixed
Guilds, the Comrades' Circle, employees, and
any other auxiliary body, with a full knowledge
of the problem.

(2) To detail in specific terms the minimum assist-
ance required from each society, organisation,

and individual during 1936, to ensure the
successful inauguration of this bold policy to
win Press power for co-operation.

- (3) To put it right up to every society, organisation,
and active co-operator, that they have responsi-
bilities to their national bodies and policies, as
well as to their local societies. If they shirk
their share of the momentous task they are not
playing the game. In fact, they are increasing
the burden of others, enjoying benefits arising
from the labours of others, helping the enemy
by refusing to co-operate with their fellow
co-operators while the battle of opposing Press
interests is being waged.

Chapter Four

THE STARTING POINT

THE start of the policy to provide the Movement with a powerful, popular, modern Press dates back to 1929. The directors of the then National Co-operative Publishing Society Limited purchased the newspaper property of Lord Dalziel, which consisted of "Reynolds's Illustrated News" (a Sunday paper) and a trade journal. The premises were leasehold, expiring March, 1936, and the plant was rapidly becoming out-of-date.

It was useless spending capital on new machines in a leasehold building not capable of extensive development, and so the shareholding societies and the directors have used the intervening period to gain the necessary newspaper experience to justify a large development policy.

Investigation by the shareholding societies led to reconstruction in various respects, and the Co-operative Press Ltd. to-day is equipped in experience and administrative efficiency to undertake confidently the development policy on which it is now engaged.

The experience gained, 1929-1935, in the running of "Reynolds's," the first national, popular, public newspaper owned and controlled entirely by co-operative societies, has disclosed the special problems we have to overcome to obtain complete success. Happily, although there are difficulties, they are within the capacity of the Movement to overcome, if the intelligence and will are there.

In the first place, it is essential that the Movement should grasp the fundamental fact that the retail co-operative society cannot do for the Co-operative Press what it does for the Wholesale and productive factories.



Despatching "Reynolds's" for delivery to newsagents by rail and road.

In the normal way, the functions of distributive and productive Co-operation are clearly defined. The retail society enrolls the local membership, it accumulates capital, it builds retail shops, it creates the management organisation, and it wins the sales of commodities. The Wholesale and productive factories' job is to finance, merchant, and manufacture commodities to replace private lines wherever possible.

The newspaper trade is so organised that no retail co-operative society can open a retail newsagent's shop!

At the productive end practically all the national and local newspapers, magazines, and periodicals are owned and controlled by five great Press combines. To-day it is almost impossible to establish separately a new daily or Sunday newspaper.

The advantage of the Co-operative Movement acquiring an old-established paper like "Reynolds's" with its democratic traditions, becomes apparent. If the Movement fails

to take full advantage of this opportunity, it is not likely to recur.

Owing to the retail societies not being able to open retail shops and thus undertake the circulation or sales side of the problem, the Co-operative Movement has to face the fact that in this instance finance, production, and sales must be done through the federal body—the Co-operative Press Limited.

This, therefore, is the first vital problem that the Co-operative Movement must grasp. The resources and energies of the whole Movement, in so far as the establishment of Press power is concerned, must function through the machinery of the Co-operative Press. Every society, organisation, and individual must co-operate with us to this end.

Chapter Five

THE PROBLEM OF THE ADVERTISER

THE second key problem to success is for the Movement to understand the problem of newspaper finance. Here, again, the general experience of the Movement is no guide. Co-operative societies are familiar with selling commodities which, when purchased by the customer, provide revenue to meet all the cost of production and distribution, and leave a small margin over for dividend.

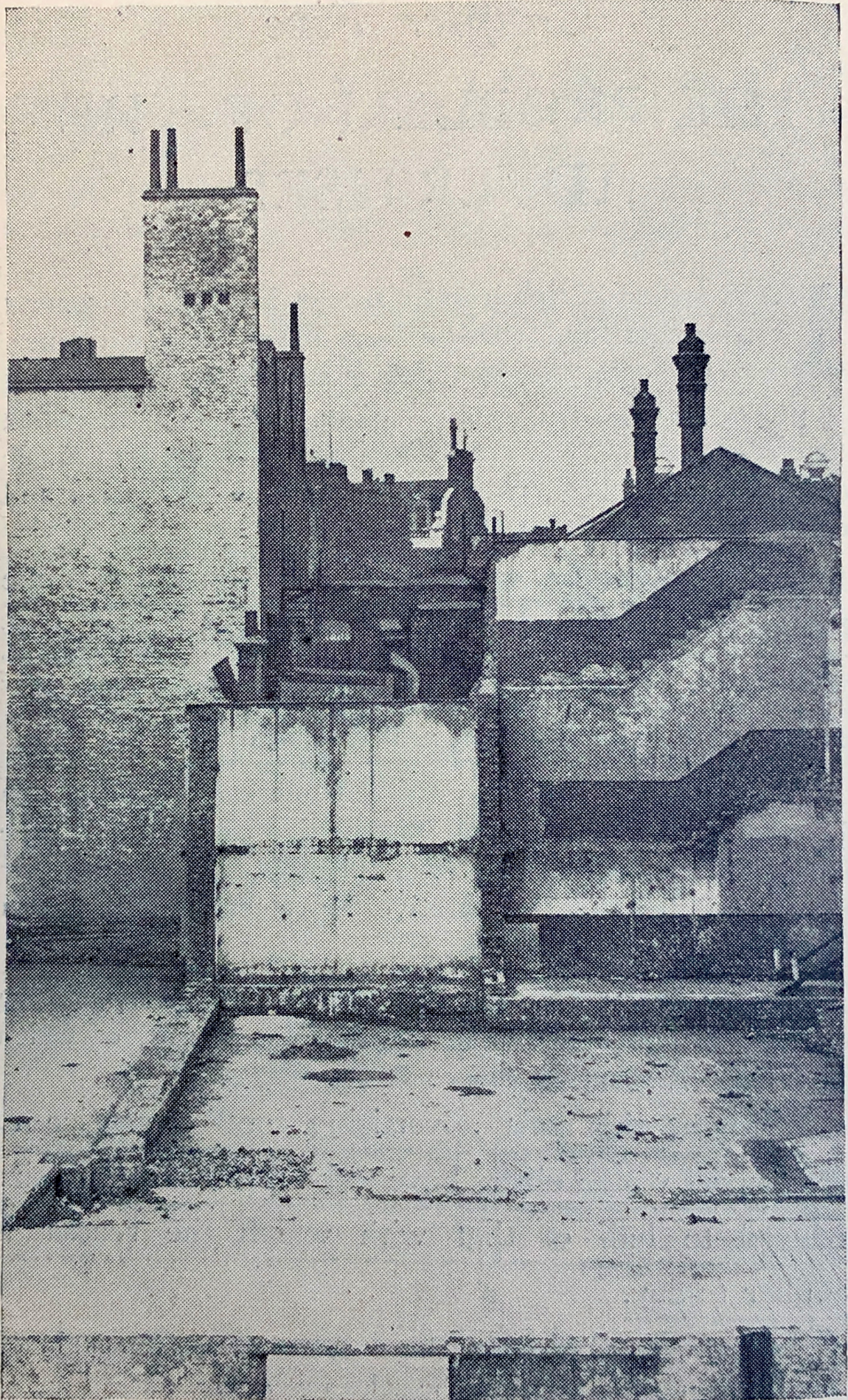
No popular newspaper could exist on the revenue derived from sales only! When you pay 1d. for a daily newspaper, or 2d. for a Sunday paper, you do not pay for the cost of production and distribution.

How then, is made up this difference or gap between the cost of production and distribution and the revenue derived from sales? The answer is simple, but not generally appreciated by the Co-operative Movement. It is from advertising revenue!

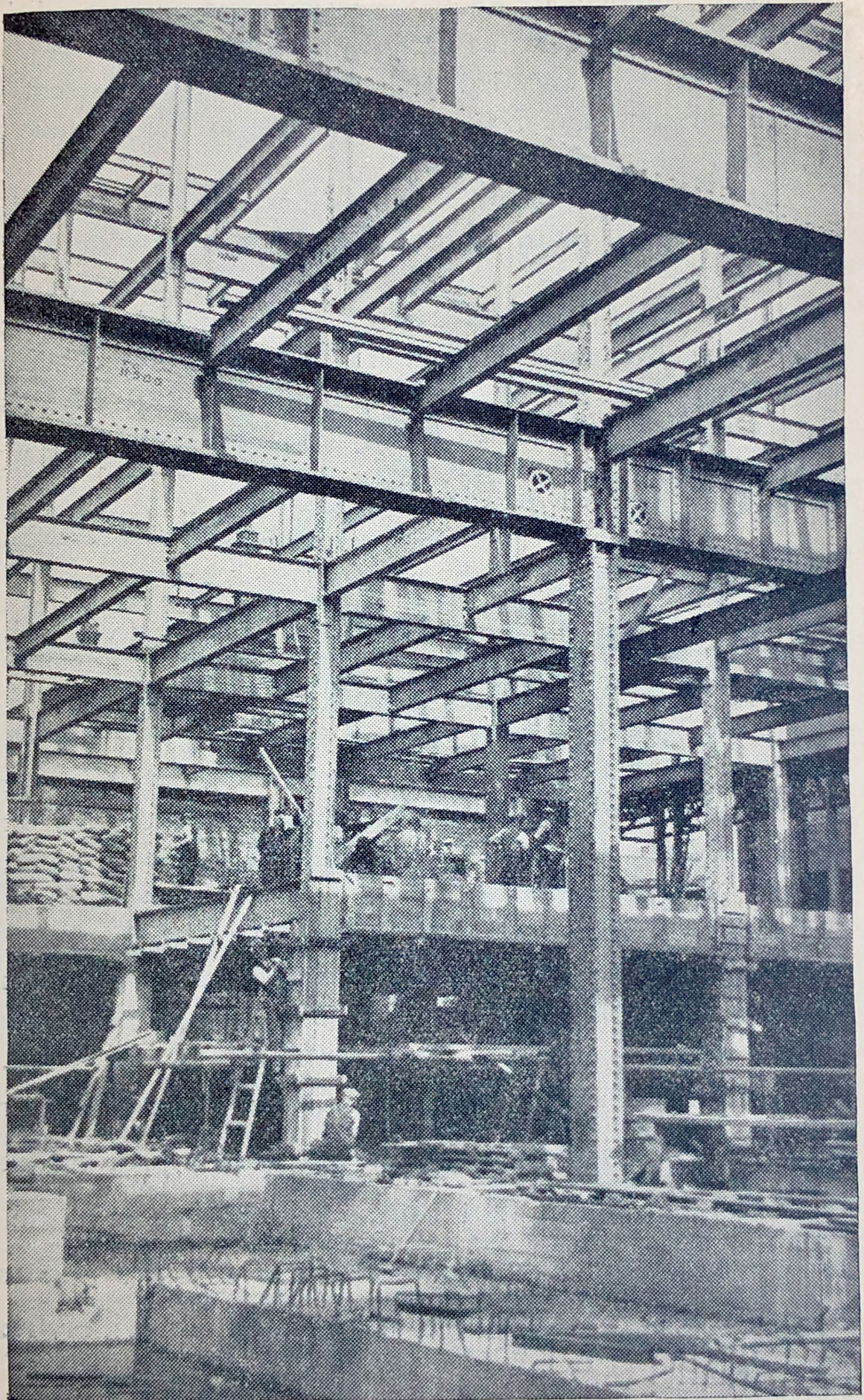
It is estimated that the total expenditure on advertising in Great Britain amounts to £125,000,000 a year, of which £39,000,000 is spent on Press advertisements.

Without this vast advertising fund the price of newspapers would either have to be doubled or the size reduced to half of that with which the reader is familiar to-day.

In the case of most of the well-known newspapers, the advertising revenue exceeds the sales revenue.



On this bare courtyard in Gray's Inn Road, London, is now rising—



--the magnificent new "Reynolds's" building (shown above).

The "Sunday Express" has said that in one edition the advertisement revenue exceeded £10,000. If the average for the year were only half that sum, it would represent an annual revenue of £260,000—equivalent to the revenue of 49,163,636 copies of the paper.

The "Daily Express" said on November 1st, 1934, that its advertisement revenue for October, 1934, was substantially in excess of £200,000. Again, if the average for the year were only half of this, it would realise a revenue of £1,200,000.

Co-operators must be brought to see that, for the directors of the Co-operative Press Limited, to establish "Reynolds's" on a footing equivalent to its capitalist competitors in size, quality, make-up, contents, sales organisation, and benefits to readers, they must be assured of a comparable advertising revenue.

Advertising revenue, then, is this second vital problem. How is this revenue to be obtained?

A glance at any daily or Sunday newspaper will disclose that the bulk of this £39,000,000 comes from the big stores with mail order business, or the multiple or syndicated firms or companies with proprietary brands that have a national sale for their commodities.

Many of these represent the biggest competitors of the Co-operative Movement, and are not likely to advertise in a co-operatively owned journal like "Reynolds's," the readership of which is confined almost entirely to co-operators.

The directors of the Co-operative Press Ltd. therefore have faced the Movement up to this problem and have made it plain that unless advertising revenue is provided by the Movement there is not the slightest prospect of it equipping itself with a widely-read newspaper.

The scheme adopted is on lines familiar to the advertising world. Advertising in newspapers with large circulations is a costly business and only the larger capitalist combinations to-day can take full advantage of this form of popularising their wares. Again, to minimise this cost, the tendency is to advertise industries or commodities through what is known as co-operative advertising schemes. The brewers, millers, fruiterers, paint manufacturers, and similar concerns pay into a common fund and advertise beer, bread, fruit, and so on, knowing full well that if they increase the national consumption of the article they make and sell, they will all benefit. The Milk Marketing Board is doing the same with milk. It will, indeed, be an ironical state of affairs if private traders in this field beat co-operative societies in the science of co-operative advertising!

Co-operation is an economic movement—a trading system. It finances the production and distribution of commodities, and already spends approximately £650,000 a year on various forms of advertising, £130,000 of which goes in newspaper advertisements though, in this case, mainly of a local character.

The policy of the directors of the Co-operative Press Ltd. is to divert a proportion of this into a national co-operative advertising scheme, the trade advertisements to be displayed through the columns of the new “Reynolds’s.”

Chapter Six

CO-OPERATIVE ADVERTISING

THE scheme before the movement is simple, equitable, practical, and economical. It is that each retail co-operative society should subscribe to this advertising fund on the basis of $\frac{1}{4}$ d. in the £ on their sales.

In this way, the largest and the smallest society in the country will contribute on exactly the same basis.

It works out, roughly, at £1 for every £1,000 of trade done—not a large sum to pay for a powerful Co-operative Press!

Thus, the Fenny Compton Society, whose trade is £9,000 a year, contributes £9 a year, while the London Society contributes £12,000 a year on a trade of £12,000,000 a year.

The response to this scheme so far has been encouraging, but nothing like what it should be if the Movement means to have Press power. One-hundred-and-thirty societies so far, representing, roughly, 30 per cent. of the trade and membership of the Movement, have accepted their obligations to this co-operative advertising scheme on which depends the success of our bold development policy.

The scheme is endorsed by all sections of co-operative authority—the Co-operative Congress, the Co-operative Union, the Wholesale Societies, the Co-operative Party, and the Men's, Women's, and Mixed Guilds.

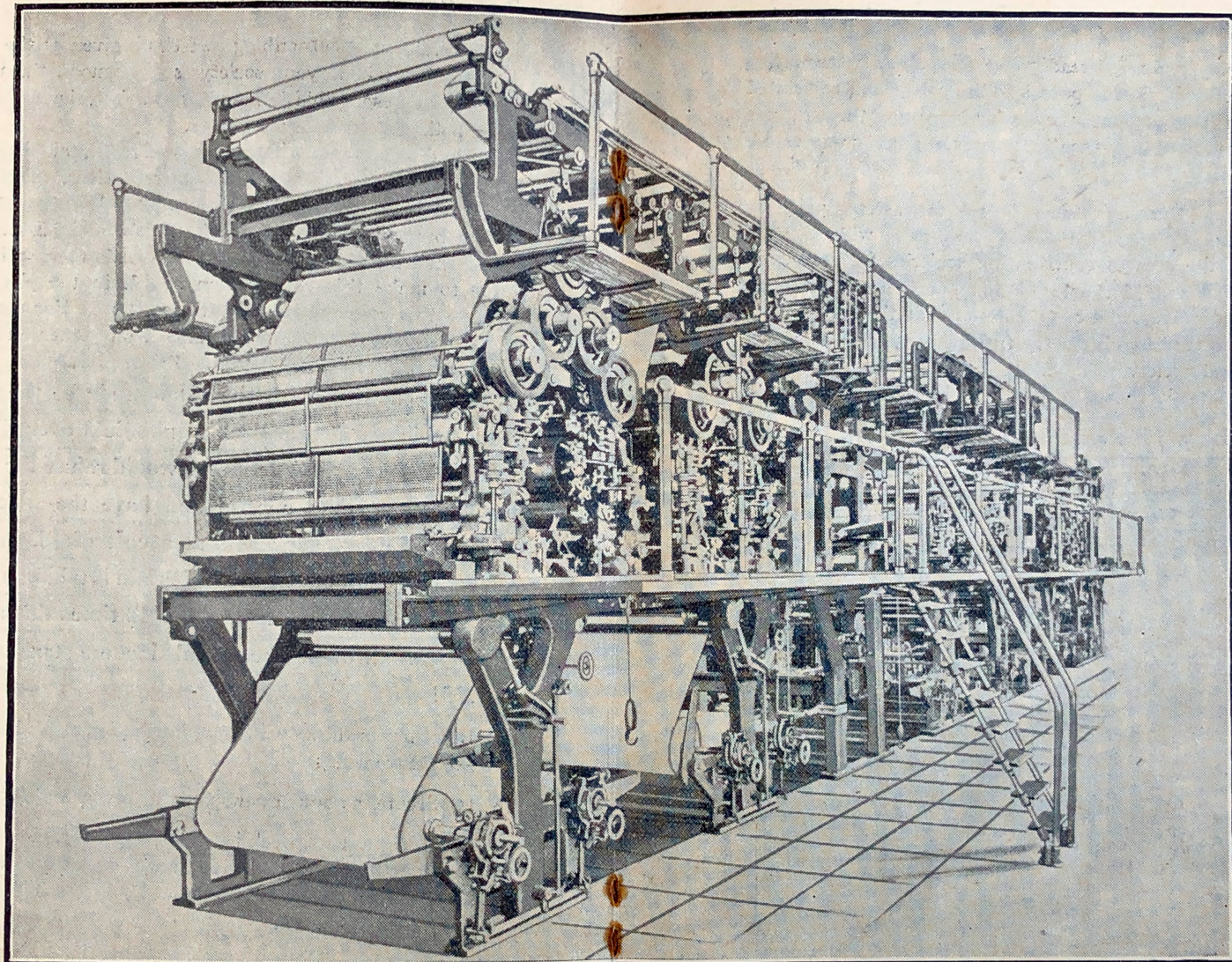
The full list of subscribing societies is given at the end of this booklet, and if your society is not among them, it is shirking its responsibilities, and is, in fact, imperilling the whole policy by its selfish aloofness.

The directors of the Co-operative Press Limited make an earnest appeal to all national representatives, members of Management, Education, and Co-operative Party committees, and to branches of the Women's, Men's, and Mixed Guilds to use their individual influence to persuade their societies to agree to make this contribution of $\frac{1}{4}$ d. in the £ of their sales to this co-operative advertising fund. For, make no mistake, on the response to this advertising scheme rests the future of a powerful Co-operative Press.

A $\frac{1}{4}$ d. in the £ on the retail trade of the Movement, which is £210,000,000, would yield over £200,000 a year. What capitalist concern would refuse the opportunity to own and control and have the specialised services of a popular Press at a cost of $\frac{1}{4}$ d. in the £ on its sales? Mr. Neville Chamberlain is taking from the surplus of our mutual trade 10 to 12 times this amount each year through the penal income tax imposed in 1933!

In return for this advertising contribution of $\frac{1}{4}$ d. in the £ on sales, the Movement :

- (1) Secures a popular newspaper to advocate Co-operation.
- (2) Features each week in " Reynolds's " trade advertisements covering a wide range of trading lines and services at the command of the consumer in co-operative shops.
- (3) Offers, through the directors of the Co-operative Press Limited, a free collective bereavement benefit to



Power is illustrated in this photograph of one of the new Goss printing presses to be installed in Pioneer House. This press has a special under-deck for colour printing.

every registered reader of "Reynolds's" amounting to 6s. 8d. in the pound additional to and calculated on the amount they would receive through the Collective Insurance Scheme of their local co-operative society.

- (4) From time to time skilled canvassers, paid by the Co-operative Press Limited, will canvass in the area of contributing societies for registered readers of "Reynolds's" among existing co-operators and canvass non-co-operators to join the local society and thereby obtain the free insurance benefit of the local society paid on trade and "Reynolds's" free insurance benefit paid on becoming registered readers.



The entrance to Pioneer House from Gray's Inn Road. The new building is being erected behind the property shown above.

Chapter Seven

CIRCULATION PROBLEM

IN the preceding chapter the financing of a newspaper by advertisement revenue has been explained. The directors have had, however, to face the immediate capital problem of transferring the production of "Reynolds's" from an old-fashioned type of premises, leasehold, with out-of-date machinery, to a freehold site with a modern productive works, equipped with the most up-to-date printing presses. Fortunately, this capital outlay, amounting to £185,000 for the purchase of the necessary land, buildings, and presses, has been met through the co-operation of the directors of the Co-operative Wholesale Society with the directors of the Co-operative Press Limited.

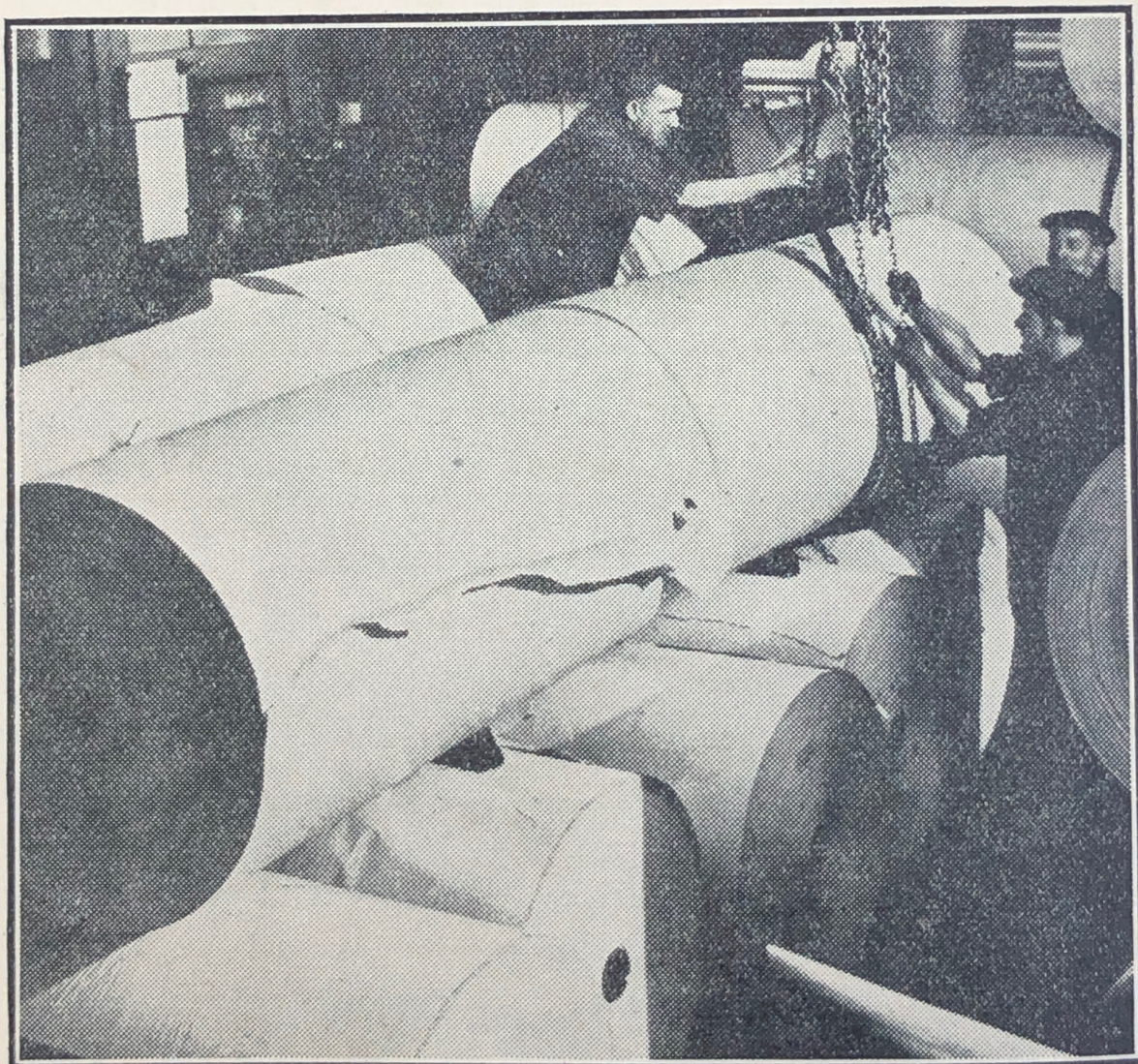
Pioneer House, a magnificent site, has been acquired at 348-354, Gray's Inn-road, London, near main line railway stations like King's Cross, St. Pancras, Euston, Marylebone, and Paddington, sufficient to produce a paper comparable to any on the market, and capable of reaching an output equal to any competitor.

The directors invite representative co-operators, when in London, to visit Pioneer House, the new Press headquarters of the Co-operative Movement. The whole of the plant and machinery has been purchased, and it is new throughout. The works will be completed by C.W.S. architects and works department by February, 1936, and the new "Reynolds's," equal to any of its competitors in size, quality of paper, type, pictures, range of features, sports and coloured printed advertisements, will make its appearance to win Press power for Co-operation !

While capital and advertising revenue are indispensable to put a paper on the market, in our co-operative case, the whole object of the expenditure of capital and advertising revenue will be defeated unless the new "Reynolds's" obtains a large circulation; and it is to invite every section of the Movement to co-operate in our circulation push for 1936 that this pamphlet has been produced.

The new "Reynolds's" will be a popular newspaper. It will be written up to appeal to the co-operator, who never attends a business meeting, an educational gathering, a guild branch, or a political demonstration.

The "Co-operative News," "Scottish Co-operator," "Women's Outlook," "The Millgate," and "The Co-operative



A newspaper's raw material—handling the giant rolls of paper in "Reynolds's" machine room.

Youth " are specialised journals of the Co-operative Press for the active co-operators, and at a later stage in our development policy these journals will be improved as part of the policy of equipping the Movement with Press power.

The directors of the Co-operative Press Ltd. clearly recognise that the acid test now is to put the new "Reynolds's" on the newspaper map with a circulation eventually reaching into millions, so that the whole nation feels its influence, and the Press, Governments, politicians, and traders can no longer ignore, affront, misrepresent, attack, or penalise Co-operation.

To achieve this it is vital that every society, organisation, and organised individual co-operator should concentrate for a given period on this circulation problem. If we do, success is absolutely certain. This statement is based on experience; for the Co-operative Press has, during the last three years, carried out careful and thorough experiments to test the capacity of the Movement to obtain a large circulation for the new "Reynolds's" when it is launched. Here are some examples :—

<i>Society.</i>	<i>Local Industries.</i>	<i>Before Canvass.</i>	<i>Later Date.</i>
Scunthorpe ..	Iron, Agriculture	543..	2,078.. April, 1935
Nottingham...	Lace, Tobacco, Chemical, Mining.....	1,752..	5,230.. April, 1935
Mid-Rhondda Mining.....		870..	1,620.. Dec., 1934
Throckley....	Mining.....	34..	578.. Jan., 1935
Walsall	Leather, Mining, Iron, and Steel	1,501..	5,096.. Sept., 1934
Lincoln.....	Engineering, Agriculture....	982..	2,864.. Aug., 1935
Colchester....	Agriculture, Horticulture, Marketing, Hotel, and Boarding.....	631..	1,562.. April, 1935
Gravesend....	Docks	148..	695.. April, 1935

The circulation of "Reynolds's" has been increased by 40,000 copies a week during the last three years, which proves conclusively that, with a larger and technically better paper, backed by the unique and superior insurance scheme we have to offer our readers, and given the widespread organisation, determination, and concentration by every society and active co-operator over a given period, the figure aimed at by the directors of the Co-operative Press for 1936 can be obtained.

250,000 New Readers

THAT figure is 250,000 additional registered readers of "Reynolds's" over and above its present circulation, to be made during the year, January 1st to December 31st, 1936.

There are 7,000,000 co-operators in Great Britain. Allowing for dual membership on a conservative estimate, there are 5,000,000 co-operative families or households. The task set for every society is to induce at least an additional 5 per cent. of their co-operative households to take the new "Reynolds's." Five per cent. of these 5,000,000 households represents the additional 250,000 circulation figure asked for by the directors of the Co-operative Press Limited.

This is a modest request, but it will test each society and, in the aggregate, the Movement's capacity to concentrate unitedly on a joint policy task for a definite period. If each society can do this, the task set can easily be accomplished.

The directors of the Co-operative Press Limited, propose to take the Co-operative Union's membership figures for 1934, and officially assign to each society the number of its quota of new readers to celebrate the launching of the new "Reynolds's."

Each society is asked to establish before the end of 1935 a Co-operative Press Circulation Committee to meet regularly not less than once a month during 1936 to review how the circulation campaign is proceeding in its area.

The composition of this Co-operative Press Circulation Committee should be the President, two members of the management committee, the executive official of the society or (a publicity) official acting for him, the secretary, chairman, and two members of the education committee, secretary and chairman of the local Co-operative Party, members from the Guilds, Comrades' Circle, or any other auxiliary body recognised by the society, and two employees selected by the employees of the society.

This committee should be charged with the task of obtaining during 1936 at least an additional 5 per cent. of the co-operative households of its society to become registered readers of "Reynolds's."

There will be no cost to the society apart from any fees which it cares to pay the members of its own local circulation committee. Registration forms, posters, leaflets, and other publicity matter will be provided by the directors of the Co-operative Press Limited.

Chapter Eight

GETTING TO WORK

WHILE each Co-operative Press Circulation Committee will be free to get its 5 per cent. of new readers in its own way, it may be helpful if the directors, from their experiences, indicate a broad policy that should be conformed to so far as local conditions permit.

- (1) While "Reynolds's" enjoys the support of members of management committees and officials, it is now essential that every member of the management committee and every executive official should actually register with the new "Reynolds's." There are 1,280 co-operative societies and, allowing ten members to each committee, with their executive officials and buyers, they represent 15,000 or more executive co-operators.

This would be a valuable registered circulation to "Reynolds's"—far more valuable than the actual numbers. While there are advertisers who sell certain lines of goods to the Co-operative Movement, they would more readily advertise in "Reynolds's" if they knew that 15,000 co-operative management committeemen and buyers were registered readers of "Reynolds's."

So to the Circulation Committee we say: First get the members of your management committee, officials and buyers to become registered readers of the new "Reynolds's," and you will help the Co-operative Press to get both circulation revenue and advertising revenue.

- (2) Every member of the Education Committee and local Co-operative Party should be induced to become a registered reader. The work of these committees

is to educate the membership of our societies to the wider ideals and objects for which the Movement exist, and members of such committees must practice what they preach.

Again, these committees are the educational and propaganda executives of the Co-operative Movement, and should be the first to realise what a tremendous propaganda agency a popular newspaper would be, going weekly into the homes of a vast number of members who to-day are untouched by co-operative education or co-operative politics.

Education Committees and Co-operative Parties can help the advertising revenue of "Reynolds's,"



A "close-up" of an excavator used on the new Pioneer House site.

make the paper more interesting, and make their public gatherings more successful if they will systematically advertise all their public functions in the Democrats' Diary in "Reynolds's."

The charge is nominal, three lines for 2s. Many readers of newspapers are interested in what is called the "smalls advertising columns," and as the circulation of "Reynolds's" is increasing, an ever-growing number of people will be reached through such a form of cheap advertising. It could also be made the means of introducing speakers and subjects as the activities of other educational and Co-operative Party committees could be observed by weekly perusal of these meetings advertised in the Democrats' Diary.

- (3) Through the guild representatives on the Co-operative Press Circulation Committee, methods could be adopted to approach individually every member of the Guilds or auxiliary bodies, with a view to their becoming registered readers of "Reynolds's." There are over 100,000 keen co-operators organised in the Women's, Men's, and Mixed Guilds and Comrades' Circles, and an intensive cultivation of this membership should yield thousands of new readers for "Reynolds's."
- (4) A circular letter should be sent to every employee by the executive officer of the society, explaining that the new Press policy is to defend and extend co-operative trade and employment, and is, therefore, of interest to co-operative employees; and to ask them to become registered readers of the new "Reynolds's." If they are favourably disposed, they could help in the canvass of the membership.
- (5) The Co-operative Press Circulation Committee should

organise all who are willing to become voluntary canvassers into a Circulation Canvassing Corps. Members of the Management, Education, and Co-operative Party committees, guild members, and employees, could be invited to join this voluntary canvassing corps.

The area of the society should be divided or mapped out. The canvassers should be divided into groups, and each group of canvassers should be allocated a district.

With a year to complete the job of getting the society's 5 per cent. quota and the Co-operative Press Circulation Committee meeting monthly, progress could be reviewed, the laggard groups speeded up by example of the more advanced groups, and towards the end of the year an extra push could be undertaken if the 5 per cent. had not been obtained.

Each Co-operative Press Committee should appoint a secretary and chairman at its first meeting. The secretary should complete at once the notification card supplied by the Co-operative Press Limited for this purpose, and dispatch at once to the Circulation Manager, Pioneer House, Gray's Inn-road, London, for it to be filed for reference.

The circulation manager of the new "Reynolds's" will then forward the necessary information, registration forms, and publicity matter produced for display and distribution from time to time.

If every Society, Organisation, Committee Member, Guildsman or Woman, or Co-operative Party member will co-operate with us for a year, this will prove to be the most glorious and efficient example of co-operative development and progress that the Co-operative Movement has yet experienced !

Chapter Nine

YOUR PART IN THE SCHEME

TO summarise our plans and proposals :—

We ask you, having read this statement, to accept the responsibility to see that, so far as possible,

- (1) This pamphlet is read by every member of your Management, Education, and Co-operative Party committees ; by your officials ; and by every active Guild member.

Raise it at your committee meeting. Take it as a subject for discussion at your guild branch. The pamphlet may be obtained from the Co-operative Press Limited, Manchester, London, Glasgow, Newcastle, and Birmingham.

- (2) See that your society establishes its Co-operative Press Circulation Committee before December 31st, 1935, otherwise you will not be ready for the great "kick-off" in February.

If you cannot get your society to establish a committee on the lines set forth on page 31, then let the auxiliary bodies form one for the time being, for this is voluntary work.

- (3) Use all your power and influence to get your society to contribute its $\frac{1}{4}$ d. in the £ on sales to the co-operative advertising scheme.
- (4) Create the necessary machinery to enable your society to get at least its 5 per cent. of additional readers for the new "Reynolds's."
- (5) Enrol as a voluntary canvasser.
- (6) Don't wait for someone else to do the job. Do it yourself to the best of your ability.

Will You Work For Co-operation ?

HAVING explained the problem, and detailed our plans to win Press power for Co-operation, the directors of the Co-operative Press Limited put this simple question to you :—

Will you work for Co-operation? Will you make some effort, some sacrifice to advance the Co-operative Press during 1936? It is a critical period, and yours is a critical answer.

If the Pioneers had not dared ; if they had not sacrificed ; if they had refused voluntary effort, or had failed in their faith, then there would have been no great hopeful Co-operative Movement for us to-day.

Many take out of the Co-operative Movement more than they put in.

There are comfortable jobs, fees to be had, and positions to be won and held in the Co-operative Movement to-day. But there are dangers to be faced, difficulties to be overcome, problems to be mastered, and new fields to be conquered. Above all, Britain and the world have yet to make the choice between capitalism and Co-operation.

War, industrial and financial chaos, insecurity of livelihood, massed unemployment, extremes of riches and poverty, the irony of increased production and decreased consumption, the growth of dictatorships, of tyranny, of monopolies of bureaucracies, the repression of freedom, the crushing out of movements, the persecution of races, religions and views and the menace of world war caused through imperialist expansion—all this is the capitalist world of to-day. Co-operation could transform it into national and international goodwill, comfort, and freedom if we, too, have the faith, vision, and courage to strive mightily.

A powerful Co-operative Press will be the dynamic force making for its realisation.

We have the policy, the capital, the land, the printing presses, the building, and the staff to do our side of the job.

We need, and must have, advertising revenue. That is your society's job. See that your society does not fail.

We want circulation. That is your individual job.

Are there 25,000 co-operators in Britain willing to enrol in "Reynolds's" team of voluntary canvassers and undertake to get ten new readers for the new "Reynolds's" during 1936?

Are there 25,000 co-operators in Britain prepared to work for Co-operation; to win Press power for Co-operation?

TO WIN PRESS POWER FOR CO-OPERATION



*I desire to enrol as one of the 25,000 voluntary
Co-operators who will undertake to do their
best to obtain 250,000 additional readers for
"Reynolds's" during 1936.*

Name.....

Address

.....

Co-operative Society

.....

To be forwarded to

"REYNOLDS'S ILLUSTRATED NEWS,"
CIRCULATION MANAGER,
PIONEER HOUSE, 348-354, GRAY'S INN RD., LONDON.

*THE DIRECTORS of the
Co-operative Press Limited
thank the Boards of the follow-
ing Societies whose ready response
to the Co-operative Press
Development Scheme has enabled
rapid and encouraging progress
to be made.*

COLLECTIVE ADVERTISING

List of Supporting Societies

	£
BIRMINGHAM	4,181
BOSTON.....	107
COALVILLE.....	504
COVENTRY	1,145
CHIRK.....	51
DERBY.....	2,305
ENDERBY.....	75
FENNY COMPTON	9
GLENFIELD	11
HALESOWEN AND HASBURY	206
HIGHAM FERRERS.....	37
HINCKLEY	205
IRTHLINGBORO	53
LANGLEY MILL.....	366
LEICESTER	1,720
LINCOLN	870
LOCKHURST LANE.....	256
LONG EATON	718
MANSFIELD AND SUTTON	1,326
MELTON MOWBRAY	112
NOTTINGHAM	1,850
NUNEATON	561
OADBY.....	26
RAUNDS	65
RUGBY	413
SHEPSHED.....	76
STAFFORD	260
TEN ACRES AND STIRCHLEY	1,017
WALSALL.....	953
WELLINGBOROUGH.....	212
WELSHPOOL.....	23
WORCESTER.....	456
ANNFIELD PLAIN	452
BIRTLEY	180

	£
BLAYDON	468
BLYTH.....	440
BROOMHILL.....	58
GUIDE POST.....	66
NEWBOTTLE	256
STANHOPE AND WEARDALE	72
STOCKTON	676
SWALWELL.....	63
THROCKLEY	122
WINDY NOOK	79
LEEDS	3,700
MALTON AND NORTON	• 81
MELTHAM AND MELTHAM MILLS	98
POCKLINGTON.....	36
SCUNTHORPE	506
WILSDEN.....	22
WINDHILL.....	346
YORK.....	578
BARROW.....	588
BURSLEM.....	1,418
CAERNARVON.....	53
CHESTER	451
CEFN	215
COLNE	366
COMPSTALL	123
LIVERPOOL	2,425
PARK LANE	104
PRESTWICH.....	312
TIDESWELL.....	20
ALLOA	426
BLANTYRE	200
BRECHIN	164
BURNBANK	144
CARLUKE.....	98
CARRICK PROV.	104
CLYDEBANK.....	840
DALRY.....	61
EAST KILBRIDE.....	26

Co-operation

43

	£
GREENOCK CENTRAL.....	586
INVERNESS	150
KINNING PARK	1,084
LANARK.....	144
LESLIE AND DISTRICT.....	75
NEWTONSHAW	37
PATHHEAD AND SINCLAIRTOWN	416
PAISLEY MANUFACTURING.....	200
RENFREW	224
ST. GEORGE'S.....	712
WISHAW.....	372
LONDON	12,000
ASHFORD.....	182
BLETCHLEY.....	130
BRAINTREE AND WEST ESSEX.....	110
BRIGHTON.....	1,098
CAMBRIDGE.....	670
CHATHAM	217
COLCHESTER	800
COWES.....	112
DARTFORD	396
GUILDFORD.....	444
GRAVESEND	345
HALSTEAD.....	115
IPSWICH	1,078
LEIGHTON BUZZARD	70
MALDON	92
NEWPORT PAGNELL	34
PARKSTONE AND BOURNEMOUTH	488
RAINHAM	66
SHEERNESS	260
SITTINGBOURNE	288
STOWMARKET	73
TONBRIDGE.....	43
TUNBRIDGE WELLS.....	80
WINCHESTER	106
WITHAM	50
WOKING	217
BATH	440
BOVEY TRACEY.....	25

	£
CARMARTHEN.....	53
PEMBROKE DOCK	63
BRISTOL	1,994
PENZANCE.....	138
TAUNTON	180
CARDIFF	204
NETHERFIELD.....	166
RUGELEY	77
TAMWORTH	284
RYHOPE AND SILKSWORTH	501
SOUTH CROSLAND.....	32
BOLTON.....	1,382
UPPERMILL	34
WARRINGTON	963
DOVER.....	314
FAVERSHAM	161
ST. COLUMB ROAD	40
MID-RHONDDA.....	297

THE DIRECTORS of the
Co-operative Press Limited
strongly urge all retail Societies
to follow the courageous lead of
these pioneers of Press Power
for Co-operation.

Statement of the Co-operative Union to Cardiff Congress, 1935

The Progress of the Movement during 1934

Owing to the non-receipt of information from societies, it is not Annual Congress. Only 1,107 societies out of 1,280 had forwarded desirable to present an estimate of the position for the information for 1933, refer to retail distributive societies only. The figures for be included with the completed statistics for retail societies and

ESTIMATE OF THE MEMBERSHIP, CAPITAL, TRADE, with Comparisons with

	No. of Members	LIABILITIES.				
		Share Capital	Loan Capital	Savings Bank Deposits	Sundry unds (Including Overdr'ts) ranking as Capital	Reserves and Insurance Funds
Estimated Totals for 1934.....	7,175,839	£ 128,993,116	£ 19,205,531	£ 5,355,122	£ 621,944	£ 12,197,374
Totals for 1933.....	6,917,138	£ 124,053,699	£ 17,610,060	£ 5,127,463	£ 5,744,590	£ 11,754,239
Estimated Incr. or Decr. for Year..	258,701	£ 4,937,417	£ 1,595,471	£ 227,659	£ 473,354	£ 443,135
Estimated Percentage Incr. or Decr. for Year	3.74	3.98	9.06	4.44	8.24	3.77

ASSETS.									
Investments— Mortgages, Advances, Sundry Investments	Accounts Owing		Net Amount all Members' Debts after Deduction of Reserve	Cash in hand and at Bank	Sundry Assets	Total Assets	No. of Employees		
	Goods Gross Amounts	Hire Pur- chase and Clubs (gross)					Distributive	Productive and Service	
£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
1 26,246,128	3,571,767	3,282,900	5,938,685	7,615,490	1,029,102	187,176,332	127,853	72,100	
2 26,178,065	3,533,604	2,844,061	5,420,981	5,790,807	1,075,117	178,348,101	126,387	65,563	
3 68,063	38,163	458,839	517,704	1,824,683	46,015	8,828,231	1,466	6,537	
4 0.26	1.08	15.43	9.55	31.51	*4.28	4.95	1.16	9.97	

*Decrease.

possible to complete the statistics for presentation in full to the their returns up to May 28th, 1935. It has, therefore, been deemed of delegates. This estimate and the comparison with the figures the Wholesale Societies have already been published, and they will productive societies when these are published after Congress.

&c., OF RETAIL DISTRIBUTIVE SOCIETIES FOR 1934 the Figures for 1933).

ASSETS								
Share Interest and Disposable Balance	Other Liabilities	Total Liabilities	Stock-in-Trade	Property			Investments—Shares and Loans	
				Land, Buildings, and Fixtures used in Trade	Land, Buildings, and Fixtures not used in Trade	House property		
£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
8,756,970	5,450,275	187,176,332	17,780,624	44,105,205	969,204	3,284,773	79,883,531	1
8,963,684	5,092,366	178,348,101	17,362,195	42,671,444	1,126,719	3,211,236	75,269,510	2
793,286	357,909	8,828,231	418,429	1,433,761	157,515	73,537	4,614,021	3
8.85	7.03	4.95	2.41	3.36	*13.98	2.29	6.13	4

OPERATIONS FOR THE CURRENT YEAR									
Salaries and Wages		Amount of Sales	Value of own Products and Services (Wholesale Prices)	Net Surplus (including Share Interest)	Allocated from Surplus				
Distributive	Productive and Service				Interest on Share Capital	Bonus on Wages	Grants for Education	Grants for Charitable Purposes	
£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
17,437,432	10,314,389	206,173,026	31,722,234	25,338,494	4,737,457	139,975	237,266	97,895	
16,249,587	8,976,840	197,257,009	30,616,970	23,754,096	4,777,107	144,423	222,034	90,652	
1,187,845	1,337,549	8,916,017	1,105,273	1,584,398	39,650	4,448	15,232	7,243	
7.31	14.90	4.52	3.61	6.67	*0.83	*3.08	6.86	7.99	

†Including balances of Deficit or Suspense Accounts not given in previous columns

THE CO-OPERATIVE PRESS LIMITED,

22, LONG MILLGATE, MANCHESTER, 3.

PIONEER HOUSE, 348-354, GRAY'S INN ROAD, LONDON.

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Newcastle Office

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NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE, 1
Telephone: 23740

Scottish Office

71, KINGSTON STREET,
GLASGOW C.5
Telephone : South 764

Birmingham Office

CIVIC HOUSE, GT. CHARLES
STREET
Telephone : Central 3991

National Sales of National Newspapers

" EXPRESS " GROUP.

" DAILY EXPRESS ".....	average	1,911,158
" SUNDAY EXPRESS ".....	"	1,254,765
" EVENING STANDARD "	"	400,000
(No net sale figure)		

" DAILY MAIL " GROUP.

" DAILY MAIL "		1,719,353
" EVENING NEWS "	Average	704,269
" SUNDAY DISPATCH "		936,807

ODHAMS' GROUP.

" DAILY HERALD "	exceeding	2,000,000
" PEOPLE "	"	3,250,000
" JOHN BULL "	"	1,500,000
(weekly)		

ALLIED GROUP.

" DAILY TELEGRAPH "		422,107
" SUNDAY TIMES "		236,251

" NEWS CHRONICLE " GROUP.

" NEWS CHRONICLE "		1,345,000
" STAR "		600,000

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